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sleeper is free from troublesome dreams, will sleep soundly, and arise refreshed. The head of the house or a guest would sleep anywhere he chose. A man's personal belongings were hung over his bed. Food, baskets, etc., were placed nearer the entrance; the food furthest from it to guard against animals. If the house was high enough, a pole on which to hang blankets and skins, was fastened across above man height, but ordinarily this was placed at one side. Cooking is usually done outside.

Every camp has one or more shades which shelter the common domestic activities, and in some instances serve in lieu of a summer house. The shades are built in a great variety of forms; some, in fact, are quite amorphous. The commonest is the rectangular flat-roofed type described above: others are simply a slanting roof, like half a gable, a quarter sphere, like half a dome-shaped house, a barrel vault, and so on. Most are carelessly covered with brush, with dirt banked against them. Ladders (two poles with rungs tied on) are often provided to reach the roof of a house or shade in order to replace the dirt covering, store corn, etc. These are sometimes logs notched on one face. A cooking shelter may be made of boughs set up in a semicircle before the outdoor fireplace, forming a breast-high screen.

There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*oyâ''â*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (Fig. 36). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

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439 The rate paid by the Navaho is probably abnormally high as their demand for foodstuffs exceeded their ability as refugees to pay.

Trade was not solely in the hands of the Havasupai. The abundant harvest and the attendant dances in the canyon provided a strong incentive for visiting and trading, especially to the Navaho and Walapai. The Walapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi. Journeys to the Walapai for visits, dancing, and trading, were frequent. On the whole, trading was incidental to other pursuits, and, considering the relatively small amount that changed hands, was little more than an exchange of presents and the profits of gambling.

177 439 648 554 Trade visits, etc., provide an effective mechanism for culture exchange. But more particularly participation in intertribal relations and the acquisition of knowledge of the foreigner's ways reacts to a man's credit. It is clear that a man's prominence is enhanced in this way, and may even become the basis for recognition as a chief.

202 Columns of smoke are raised from time to time by traveling parties to attract attention or to signal friendly intentions. This is evidently customary among all the tribes of this region (see pp. 371, 379).

[439] 648 The following account indicates the type of casual visit for the purpose of trade. It is clear, however, that gain is not the chief interest.

484 722 When I [Sinyella] was four feet high the Yavapai liked to come to this place to fight; they killed so many every time. My relatives were afraid on this account and they wanted to go to stay at Oraibi where there were many men. So we went and there I played with the Hopi boys and learned the Hopi language.

224 484 648 This was the very first time I made a trip to Oraibi. We started from the village to go up by Tovŭk,ôvă [the dry bed of a waterfall, Lee Canyon] and camped in a little cave nearly at the plateau. There were a good many people with us. They said among themselves, "We would like to go out and hunt for mountain sheep. If we kill some we will eat them," and others agreed. In the morning all the men went hunting on the plateau to the west. When the sun was halfway down in the sky we heard someone holler from the hilltop in that direction. They shouted, "One man has fallen down the white cliff and has been killed." Then all the hunters came home and told us. "They found a flock of mountain sheep. There were several rams with them. One of the men shot a very big one with an arrow, and the other sheep, the big ones, ran off. The wounded ram jumped part way down the white cliff, and ran along a very narrow ledge. Two men jumped down from rock to rock and along the ledge, following him. The ram stopped at the abrupt end of the ledge. My father and Jess' grandfather followed the ledge. The ram turned toward the men and ran fast at them: he held his head down sideways. My father stood right against the wall; the other stood right on the edge. There was not room enough; it was very narrow there. The ram butted Jess' grandfather off the cliff to the bottom. The ram stood right there, until all the others came and killed it, and then it too fell down the cliff at the same 484 place. So we all came down the Tovŭk,ôvă trail and went around into the canyon 648 where we found the man at the bottom of the cliff. We carried the body away, dug a

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484 point of the plateau to where our home was on the red bench. Then we gathered mescal and roasted it in a pit. That was pretty good for me; I ate plenty. I was a long way off and felt pretty bad, and when I got back, I was glad. When I was out of my country over at Oraibi, I thought all the time that I would like to be home, so I felt pretty glad when I got home.

[648] After I was home a little while that first Yavapai raid occurred.

War

721 Warfare among the Havasupai was chiefly defensive, for they numbered too few to carry on effective offensive operations. However, they made raids against their nearer enemies from time to time.

Their traditional enemies are the Yavapai and the associated western 648 groups of White Mountain and Tonto Apache. The tribal designation [196] for the first is in fact also the generic term for enemy, *Itcahud*. They were intermittently hostile to the Navaho, with whom they seem to have come but infrequently in contact until the Navaho were forced westward in the middle of the nineteenth century. Thereafter they were usually inclined to be friendly. Their relations with the Paiute were similar. These people were sometimes encountered along the lower Little Colorado, but more frequently they were met in hostile engagements in their own territory north of the Colorado. They were probably fought with no more than were the Navaho, but this seems largely to be due to their inaccessibility. The friends of the Havasupai were the Hopi and of course the Walapai, with whom they maintained steadfast amicable relations. Oraibi figures in the tales as a sort of neutralized trading station, with its inhabitants strongly biased in favor of the Havasupai, or at least so the latter thought. The concerns of the Walapai were always those of their eastern relatives, who joined them in raids on the Paiute and who vicariously shared their enmity for the Mohave. Other tribes were too far away for conflict.[1]

726 Raids into Cataract Canyon, which make up the largest part of 722 their hostile relations, were made by the Yavapai with their Apache associates and on rarer occasion by the Paiute. The raiders would suddenly appear in the village at dawn. This gave them the advantages of surprise and a long period of daylight in which to make good their escape. At the first alarm the women and children scattered, climbing up the cliffs to hide among the rocks on the red sandstone bench. Some men, at least, would fly with them, until an effective skirmish line could be formed to repel the invader and recover their booty, chiefly horses—

[1] I believe Mooney must be mistaken in identifying the Havasupai with one of the groups raided by the Kiowa. (c), 169.

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and scalps. It seems that raids were sporadic, and I gather, may have averaged not more than one a year. During these periods of insecurity, the natives were accustomed to live in the little caves and on the ledges along the cliffside in order to make their escape more easily. 726 722

The Navaho did not raid into the canyon, but they would sometimes drive off the Havasupai horses when the latter were trading in the Hopi villages, or they would descend on some returning, heavily-laden trading party, and kill or despoil them. 721 [439]

Offensive operations did not figure to any extent in Havasupai life, partly because of their numerical inferiority and partly because their material existence was better than that of any of their neighbors, with the exception of the Hopi. War activities do not appear to have offered absorbing interest as a general rule, although prowess in war was a decisive factor in bringing social distinction, i.e., chieftainship, to some. [511]

Weapons are bows and arrows, hatchets, and clubs. The hatchets may only have been iron tools acquired through the Hopi. The club is a single piece of heavy wood, with a round head 10 to 12 cm. in diameter, and devoid of a rawhide cover. This was used with a descending, smashing blow, not at all like the punching stroke of the Mohave with a club of a different shape. A sling is also used, although it was not seriously considered a weapon. Sinyella said, "The last time the Yavapai came I was a young lad. I made a sling and threw rocks at them. I do not know whether I hit any or not; I was high up near the top of the red cliff." 411 [439]

Arrows used in war are said always to have been poisoned. Poisoned arrows are kept in the quiver with the untreated variety. It did not harm the meat of a deer, for example, but this is at odds with the supposed effectiveness of the poison as recounted in the tale of a raid by whites. The poison (*paisdha*) was made of a black substance in the big scorpion, centipedes, red ants, *matgĭnyué* (a small black bug that bites), jimpson weed, and *qwdgămund* (a weed growing on the canyon bench). These are mashed, dried, and stored. Soapweed leaves are thrown into the fire to get hot, and wrung to expel the juice. The little finger is wet with this glue, dipped in the powder, and a little is put on arrowhead and foreshaft. A mere scratch is sufficient to kill. 278 411

Armor took the form of a shirt or smock, fitting close around the neck and hanging nearly to the ground. It was composed of two thick buckskins before and two behind; the thicknesses sewed, but not glued, together. A small buckskin was twisted into a thick loose rope and worn around the neck like a muffler. A big buckskin was rolled into a bundle 713